

STATUS OF DEVELOPMENT OF *PARHAIYAS* OF JHARKHAND

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Parhaiya is one of the nine Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs; earlier referred as Primitive Tribal Group-PTG) of Jharkhand state. They are mainly concentrated in Latehar and Palamau districts of Jharkhand state. The present study has been carried out in Chandwa block of Latehar district. Both qualitative and quantitative data have been collected with the help of various anthropological tools and techniques.

It was found that the Government has introduced several development programmes and schemes in the area. In all, the total number of development programmes running in the state, district and block were 53, 38 and 34 respectively. Of these, the *Parhaiyas* are able to avail only 20 programs. Further, it was observed that only 67 per cent *Parhaiya* are aware and has some understanding of the development programmes. It has been further observed that the *Parhaiya* who are aware of the development programmes are not able to name all the schemes and only had some idea about the purpose of the schemes. Despite the implementation of these programs, *Parhaiyas* are still lagging behind on most of the important indicators of development such as health, education, and income. Developing the *Parhaiyas* and such other PVTGs in the area and mainstreaming them is still a challenge for the Govt.

Background

The term development is a value loaded and has wide connotation. It simply refers to the act or an instance of developing or the process of being developed. The notion of development in broader sense includes both economic development and socio-cultural change, which come due to the former. It implies different meanings across different cultures, societies and geographical regions. As a concept the term development has historical evolution. Initially the term development only means growth especially in terms of economic growth. But later it was realized that the economic growth without positive change in the lives of people are not much useful. Hence the human aspect of development and people's participation in the process of development has been realized.

Since the origin of mankind, human beings have always tried to develop more and more and for this a number of different activities have been pursued. From nomadic (hunting and food gathering) stage to the settled way of life to the iron age, agriculture and present stage of market economy, the mankind always strive to do new things by adopting new technologies, new modes of food production, building of institutions etc. for betterment of human kind. With these different stages of development, certain segments of society have become more developed as compared to the other sections of the society such as poor Schedule Tribes.

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This gap between developed and under developed in the society is much pronounced due to the modern market economy and various other reasons. It is estimated that a few hundred richest person have properties and assets which is almost equal to one-fourth of country's GDP. All this accumulation of properties has the route of corruption which further prepares the breeding ground for more corruption. This is also valid for the development programs and schemes. These welfare measures involve a huge amount of public money and benefits directly and indirectly to few dominant people. The fruits of development and welfare are not reaching to the intended beneficiaries at the grass root levels. This fact was also acknowledged by Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Ex- Prime Minister of India who said that only 25 per cent of the Government funds reach to the intended beneficiaries. According to recent report of Transparency International, India ranks 94th in the corruption in total 177 countries with a total of 36 points.

India has witnessed a very high rate of economic growth in recent past, but this growth rate could not be sustained for a longer period of time. There are various reasons for this momentary and short term growth such as faulty policies and planning- ignoring the peoples' needs and aspirations, corruption in the implementation at all the levels of Government machinery, less employment generation and fewer economic opportunities for the masses, mode of production etc. Certain section of the researchers particularly the economists and other social scientists have always been vigilant and tried to raise this issue for the Governments to take timely measures.

The disparity in development and growth gave rise to a lot of discussions on the development issues. A number of works have also been carried out on development in recent past. According to Sharma (2001), no single concept has dominated the human discourse as the term development has. Several factors have shaped the development discourse and agenda in the post World War-II and the focus of development changed accordingly. Decolonization and the emergence of nation states and intricate economic and social problems have forced the countries to opt for the economic development. In the seventies, the issues of distribution and equity came to the forefront. The failure of the growth model to make major inroads into poverty and unemployment led to a shift from growth to the basic needs, income distribution and employment generation as the prerequisites of poverty alleviation.

In the next decade, the concept of sustainable development emerged out of the environmental debate. This sustainable and people centered development has marked a shift in development theory and practice. Sustainable development means utilization of available natural resources in such a way that people get all the needs without limiting the resources for future generations. It also indicates the regeneration of resources so that these may be utilized perennially by future generations of the society.

Dreze and Sen (2002) have related the development with human capabilities, freedom and opportunity. 'Capability' refers to the alternative combinations of functioning from which a person can choose. Thus the notion of capability is essentially one of freedom- the range of options a person has in deciding what kind of life to lead. Poverty of a life, in this view, lies not merely in the impoverished state in which the person actually lives, but also in the lack of real opportunity given by social constraints as well as personal circumstances to choose other types of living.

The work on the tribal development has also been carried out by different researchers belonging to diverse disciplines of Social Science in general and Anthropologists in particular. According to Vidyarthi (1980), development means growth and change, which includes both material and human – the socio-cultural factors which are integral part of the dynamics of growth. He also said that while striving for the development of a group or an area due emphasis has to be given to their traditional values and historical experiences. According to Dube (1988), time and again, development has been equated with many concepts such as economic development, growth, progress, welfare, modernization and change. It is beyond doubt that all these terms have something in common and their parameters also overlap to certain extent, but some differences exist among these concepts.

The process of development should be viewed and assessed in terms of what it does for an average individual. It has also to be seen in terms of the benefits and opportunities that it generates for people and how these are eventually distributed across the regions and communities. The present study is descriptive and exploratory in nature. The main objectives of the paper are to assess the present status of development of Parhaiya- a PVTG (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group) of Jharkhand. It also tries to understand the efforts of the Government in the form of development programs and schemes and the utilization of these schemes by the Parhaiyas. In this study, development simply refers to the mainstreaming of the *Parhaiyas* in the main fold of the society and improvement in their quality of life through development programs and schemes.

Approaches to Tribal Welfare and Development

In the past, people considered tribal living in remote areas as part and parcel of Indian population. They had enjoyed a free life of their own. It was only in the recent past that these people were approached in quite a different way. The British Government in India followed the 'Policy of Isolation'. After independence the Government of India has also followed the above policy in a modified way. It was only after a decade experience of free India, and constant thinking of anthropologists, social reformers, and political leaders led to the formulation of planned development for the tribal for their integration into mainstream.

The welfare and development of the tribals are seen differently and the approaches have also been different. In India, there are mainly five different approaches of tribal welfare and development viz. Political approach, Administrative approach, Religious approach with special reference to the missionary, voluntary agency approach and Anthropological Approach. These approaches have been used by the Government and other agencies to take appropriate measures to develop the tribals.

2.1 Political Approach: This approach was adopted since colonial rule. Under this, different policies adopted such as 'Policy of Isolation' in which excluded and partially excluded areas were demarcated for the tribals. Continuing this policy for some time after independence, the Government realized that by isolating them, their development may not be ensured and hence the policy of assimilation was adopted. However, this approach was also criticized as the policy of forced assimilation may lead to loss of tribal culture, traditions and identity. Later Nehru's policy which is known as 'Panchsheel', was adopted in which he has advocated for the evolution of quality of human life with the development efforts.

2.2 Administrative Approach: This approach was closely followed by the first approach. The main aim is to implement the tribal development programs by elaborate administrative machinery which works at different levels from the center to state, district and blocks. There have been some gaps in administrative approach which has been realized in due course of time. This approach was criticized on the ground of poor implementation of programs, less inter-departmental and inter-sectoral coordination and convergence, poor coordination between center and state, complex administrative structure, poor understanding of the tribal tradition and culture of the policy makers and implementers. This was also found by different commission and committees constituted by the Government over a period of time mainly which suggested to evaluate tribal welfare work. These commissions have also shown dissatisfaction over the progress of development measures and observed that the progress of tribal welfare does not match with the national goals.

2.3 Religious Approach (with special reference to the Missionary): Different religious organizations such as Christian Missionaries, RK Mission, Arya Samaj have also tried to ameliorate the tribal situation by undertaking different developmental activities along with the religious campaigns and tribal conversions. It has been observed that most often these organizations have the priority of propagation of their own religion and development activities are low in priority. The benefits given to the tribals have some kind of rider. The Christian Missionaries were more active during the colonial rules and after the independence other religious organizations did the same. The tribal conversions are more marked in the north-eastern and central tribal belt of India. This issue was raised by the Anthropologists and the Government has also taken the cognizance. This lopsided development of certain segments of tribal has also given rise to conflict and a clear rift was also

visible between developed and under developed and also responsible for the separatist movements.

2.4 Voluntary Agencies Approach: Various voluntary agencies and non-Govt. organizations such as 'Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh', 'Mahila Pragati Mandal', 'Red Cross Society' etc. have also been working among the weaker and marginalized sections of the society including the tribals. They have come with good intention of welfare and development and tried to intervene in the life of tribals without much understanding. Now-a-days, the association with these kinds of agencies is also in fashion and often has some other motives than the welfare of the tribals and such other communities. This is evident in the regular reporting in the newspapers and several such agencies are also blacklisted by the Government and funding agencies.

According to Vidyarthi and Rai (1976), voluntary social service organizations have done considerable humanitarian work in the tribal areas but often their idealism and spirit of services have not been matched by their understanding of tribal organizations, values and problems. Their motives were probably laudable in their own cultural frame of reference, but not so against the tribal scheme of values. They failed to realize their well-intentioned reforms which might be injurious to the tribes in terms of their socio-cultural life.

2.5 Anthropological Approach: Anthropological approach is often considered as most suitable for the welfare measures of the tribals. They combine different approaches to take any measures for the development of the tribals. They also work objectively and try to first understand the local culture. Anthropologists have always put emphasis on the traditional and local knowledge the people under study and also see socio-cultural conditions of the tribal people in their cultural contexts. The methods employed to study tribal and such other communities by the Anthropologists are also unique such as observation, ethnography, case study etc.

Over the time, it has been realized that the knowledge of applied Anthropology is essential for the successful planning and implementation of tribal development programs and schemes. Several Anthropologists have devoted their entire lives in studying the tribal culture. To name a few, Elwin, Haimendorff, Dube, Vidyarthi, Roy Burman, Sachidanad etc. are some of the Anthropologists who have contributed a lot in this direction and became chairpersons of several Commissions and Committees on tribal development which gave entirely new direction to the tribal welfare and development and its administration.

Anthropologists have also focused on people's participation in the development process, their needs and aspirations, local culture and the role of development administration. Beside other factors of development such as education, health, and development programs and schemes undertaken by the Government and Non-Government agencies, the role of tribal development administration in the development of the tribal groups including the Particular Vulnerable Tribal Group

(PVTG) is considered very important. The Govt. has prepared an elaborate machinery to plan, implement and evaluate these development programs for the tribals. Thus, the role of Tribal Development Administration (TDA) may be envisaged as the role of facilitator so that the poor tribal may accrue the benefits of development programs meant for them (Kumar and Kapoor, 2013).

A Brief Account of Parhaiya

Parhaiya is one of the nine PVTGs (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups) of Jharkhand state. The others PTGs of the state are Asur, Birjia, Birhor, Korwa, Mal Pahariya, Sauriya Pahariya, Savar and Hill Kharia (Annual Report, MTA, 20012-13). Parhaiyas are mainly concentrated in Latehar and Palamau districts of Jharkhand state but they are also found in Hazaribagh and Ranchi districts of Jharkhand and Gaya district of Bihar. The original abode of Parhaiyas was Palamau and Latehar districts which form the north-west corner of Chhotanagpur hills between 23.20 and 24.39 north latitude and 83.0 and 85.00 east longitude.

The Parhaiyas who dwell on the hills and plains of Palamau have been living on the hill tops in the midst of forest since time immemorial. Their habitat, their means of livelihood, thoughts and ideas have been shaped in the natural ways. The ecological setting of Parhaiyas' country provides the foundation of their economic life. In their economic life forest roots and fruits collection continue to play a key role, but their economy also depends on bamboo work, lac cultivation and farming (Prasad, 1988).

Parhaiya lives in the multi-ethnic villages having different castes and tribal communities like Korwa, Kharwar, Chero, Oraon and caste groups like Sahu, Ganju, Dhobi etc. They also have commensally relationship and ceremonial friendship with their neighbouring communities and also work as agricultural laborers of landed peasants (Das Sharma, 1996). Parhaiya's chief economic activity is concerned with agriculture and they are involved both as farmers and agricultural laborers. They are now settled agricultural community. The agriculture is combined with the collection of MFP, basketry work, rearing of livestock and daily wage labor.

The social organization of Parhaiya is based on lineage (Khut). Parhaiya do not have the clan organization as such but their lineage system, which is of segmented nature, explains their social pattern. The clan system is virtually non-existent. In the absence of any clan system, the Khut (lineage) work as anvil on which their social organization rest. Lineage consists of members with common relation in the prevalent line of descent as the result of a specific group of genealogical ties, and in which descent must be demonstrated (Kumar & Kapoor, 2009).

Methodology

An extensive fieldwork was carried out for about seven months in the eleven Parhaiya villages of Chandwa block of Latehar district of Jharkhand state. Both

qualitative and quantitative data have been collected with the help of various anthropological tools and techniques viz. household and interview schedules, observations, case studies etc. As per the block report (2003), total population of Chandwa is 81,832, out of which 41,982 (51.3 per cent) are males and 39,850 (48.7 per cent) are females. The population of SC in the block is 22,115 (27.0 per cent) and ST is 33,721 (41.2 per cent). The total sex ratio of the block is 949 and the sex ratio among SC and ST are 964 and 984 respectively.

There are 12 Gram Panchayats (village councils) and 85 villages in Chandwa block. In all, eleven Parhaiya Tolas (hamlets), from eleven different villages were included in the study. A total of 198 households of Parhaiya were covered for the present study. The total populations of Parhaiya in these villages are 734 out of which 387 (52.73 per cent) are males and 347 (47.27 per cent) are females (table 1).

TABLE 1: VILLAGE AND SEX WISE HOUSEHOLD POPULATION

| Name of village | No. of H.H. | Population | | | | Total |
|------------------|-------------|------------|----------|--------|----------|-------|
| | | Male | | Female | | |
| | | No. | per cent | No. | per cent | |
| Nagar | 16 | 32 | 4.35 | 34 | 4.63 | 66 |
| Damodar | 14 | 36 | 4.90 | 19 | 2.58 | 65 |
| Kitta (Damodar) | 16 | 36 | 4.90 | 30 | 4.08 | 66 |
| Latdag | 21 | 41 | 5.58 | 35 | 4.76 | 76 |
| Sattgharwa | 14 | 32 | 4.35 | 21 | 2.86 | 53 |
| Chatuag | 38 | 64 | 8.71 | 59 | 8.03 | 123 |
| Rud | 14 | 23 | 3.13 | 26 | 3.54 | 49 |
| Rampur | 4 | 7 | 0.95 | 10 | 1.36 | 17 |
| SerakNakati Tola | 25 | 56 | 7.62 | 49 | 6.67 | 105 |
| Kitta (Sasang) | 18 | 31 | 4.22 | 30 | 4.08 | 61 |
| SonsDumriya | 18 | 29 | 3.95 | 34 | 4.63 | 63 |
| Total | 198 | 387 | 52.73 | 347 | 47.27 | 734 |

The average size of the family i.e. the number or persons per household of all the studied eleven villages is 3.70. The predominant type of house is kachcha made up of mud walls and sun-baked bricks and bamboo reeds. Most of the houses have only one room and a shaded verandah. More than half of the Parhaiya families have also got the newly constructed Birsa Munda Awas but they have not started living. It will take some more time. The percentage of nuclear families is almost 85 per cent. The percentage of illiterates is 89 per cent and only 11 per cent are literates.

Development Status

After the independence, the Government has adopted a constitution which contains the provisions of welfare of the weaker sections of the society including the

scheduled tribes of the land. Different Governments has tried to mainstream the tribals through different welfare and development measures. In India, equity and social justice were the two main planks before the welfare state. Successive Five Year Plans have laid down goals for balanced social and economic development. Growth with distributive justice, self-sufficiency in food production, poverty alleviation, industrial growth and employment generation were included in the preambles of India's Five Year. The historical legacy of a fragmented and highly unequal and hierarchical society poses a grave challenge to notions of equity, social justice, greater democracy and good governance Plans (Sharma, 2001).

Despite all these measures in the form of development programs and schemes by the Government, tribals are still much lagging behind in the development process. Both the Center and States have planned a number of development programs for its people. Based on the funding, these development programs may be categorized into three main groups i.e. **Central Sector Schemes**- the expenditure on these schemes is entirely met by the Central Government; **Centrally Sponsored Schemes**- these programs are funded by both the center and State on the matching grant basis (the participation of the Central and State Governments in the funding remains in the ratio of 80:20 or 75:25 or 50:50; and **State Sponsored Schemes**. These programs are fully funded by the State Government. The State Sponsored programs are region specific and formulated, implemented and monitored by the Department of Rural Development of the State Government.

Beside these, there are certain specific programs for the Scheduled Tribal and PTGs such as Birsa Munda Awas Yojana, educational programs and schemes (hostel, uniform, books etc. for the ST students) in Jharkhand. These programs are administered by Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) or Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa and Micro Economic Social Organization (MESO) in the state of Jharkhand.

The availability of the basic amenities such as health centers, school, drinking water etc. are meager and not in proper condition the studied villages. There are a total of 19 hand pumps and 21 wells in the studied villages. Most of the wells are kachcha and open which may not be used for drinking purpose. These are mostly used for the cleaning and agricultural work. Out of 19 hand pumps, only 10 were functional. Similarly, there is a Primary Health Center at the block headquarter at Chandwa and 16 health sub centers. These health centers are manned by 5 doctors and 18 ANMs. All the national disease control programs such as 'National TB Control Program' (NTCP), 'National Malaria Control Program' (NMCP), 'National Leprosy Eradication Program' (NLEP), 'National Iodine Deficiency Program' (NID), 'National Program for Control of Blindness' (NPCB) etc. are running in the district and blocks and the Block PHC is the basic unit to implement these programs. But Parhaiyas rarely feel to come to the PHC for any treatment as their hamlets are located more interiorly.

There are primary and middle schools in the villages which are again distant from the Parhaiyas' hamlets. These schools are run under Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA), national flagship program. These are run by Sikhsa Mitra (para-teacher). A few schools are closed due to absence of the teachers. Very few children are registered in these schools and rarely go there. This is also evident in the poor literacy rate of the studied population (less than 11 per cent are literate). Mid-Day Meals are rarely given due to the irregular supply of the raw food grains. However, Parhaiyas understand the importance of education and now some of them (19 per cent) also send their children to schools. The main problem is the distance of the schools from their hamlet. They do not want to send the children alone to the school.

As mentioned earlier Parhaiyas are now turned to settled agriculturist. They either own some farm or work as agricultural labourer or both. Most of their lands are rain fed. They do not have irrigation facilities. Some of them use the well for manual irrigation. In the studied block also main sources of irrigation are either wells (36 per cent) or tanks (31 per cent). Some of the lands are also irrigated by Ahar (16 per cent) and check dams (14 per cent). The state also has the centrally sponsored scheme of 'National Crop Insurance Scheme (NCIS)' for which *Kendriya Fasal Nidhi* and *Rajya Fasal Nidhi* are established. None of the Parhiya families have availed this scheme. There are other agricultural related programs such as 'Drought Prone Area Program (DPAP)', 'National Water Storage Development Programs (NWDP)', 'Kisan Credit Card Scheme (KCCS)' and 'Million Well Scheme (MWS)' in the state and district. Of these, only one Parhaiya family was able to avail the MWS.

Beside agricultural work, Parhaiyas supplement their income through labour work at brick kilns, basketry work and rearing of pigs and poultry. All the Parhaiyas have not taken up all these occupations. The Parhaiyas also depend on the forest for the minor forest produces (MFP) and bamboo for basketry work, which is their traditional occupation. Most of them weave baskets, mats, flat baskets, hand fans and these items are sold either to the local banyas (petty shop keepers) or in the local weekly market (hat) at Chandwa. These basketry items are sold at very cheap prices as they do not have any cooperatives which may protect from the local market forces. They also face difficulty in collecting the bamboo. The Government officials as well as naxals object in collecting the bamboo and woods. Some families have a few pigs and poultry but most of them have discarded rearing of pigs after some endemic disease in the village.

The state has also introduced different development programs and schemes. Based on their nature, these programs may be broadly categorized into six groups i.e. Family Income Generation and Infrastructure Development Programmes, Educational Development Programmes, Agricultural Development Programmes, Health and Family Welfare Programmes, Anti-Exploitation and Food Security Programmes and Social Assistance and Welfare Programmes.

Parhaiyas, being a PTG are eligible to avail all these programs running in the state. The following table-2 shows the number of different programs and schemes running under the above six groups at different levels (state, district and blocks). It may be observed that a total of 53 development programs are running in the state and 38 and 34 at the district and block levels respectively. But when we see the number of programs availed by Parhaiyas, it is only 20 out of total 53 in the state (table 2).

TABLE 2: DIFFERENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN STATE, DISTRICT, BLOCK AND PARHAIYA

| <i>Categories of Programmes</i> | <i>No. of Programmes Running</i> | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| | <i>State</i> | <i>Dist.</i> | <i>Block</i> | <i>Availed by Parhaiya</i> |
| Family Income Generation and Infrastructure Development Programs | 11 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| Educational Development Programs | 8 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| Agricultural Development Programs | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Health and Family Welfare Programs | 12 | 7 | 6 | 3 |
| Anti-Exploitation & Food Security Program | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| Social Assistance and Welfare Programs | 9 | 9 | 8 | 6 |
| Total | 53 | 38 | 34 | 20 |

Although several development programs are running in the area, but the situation of Parhaiyas is still far from satisfactory. Most of them still live in abject poverty. It has been observed that only 67.17 per cent Parhaiya are aware and has some understanding of the development programmes running in the area. This is followed by the awareness for Minimum Need Program (65 per cent), ICDS (52 per cent), MDMS (40 per cent). A good number of them are also aware about other development programs. It has been further observed that the Parhaiya who are aware of the development programmes are not able to name all the schemes and only had some idea about the schemes.

The Parhaiya of those villages which are near to the block office (Latdag, Sattgharva and Rud tolas) and who visit the block office and have some contacts with the block officials are more aware of the development programmes. It has also been observed that the respondents of those villages/ tolas where some programmes, like recently introduced Birsa Munda Awas Yojana (BMAY) are running, are more aware than the Parhaiya of the interiorly located villages. The other reasons of lack of awareness of development programs among Parhaiya are low level of education, fewer visits to the area by the block level and other development officials, complacent attitude of Parhaiya etc. To increase the awareness of the welfare programs and schemes, the Govt. should look into the above issues and take up some mass campaign on regular basis.

One of the main reasons of not availing the schemes is the seasonal migration of the Parhaiya for wage labour to the other towns and cities. Most of the young members of the Parhaiya families go to other towns or states for the wage labour and they only come back in rainy season when they find some agricultural works in the villages. In this way, they only stay in their villages for four to five months and not able to avail the Govt. schemes.

It has been found that only 56.0 per cent Parhaiya who knew the officials got help from them in availing the scheme, whereas 43.9 per cent did not get any help. Some of these people who did not get the help from officials got help from other persons like contractors, who take the contract for constructing BMA, local leaders and others. It has been further observed that only 36.3 per cent Parhaiya are satisfied or happy with the officials. It was found during the study that the Parhaiya of those villages where the Birsa Munda Awaas Yojana (BMAY) is not implemented yet are unhappy with the officials and they are eager to avail the scheme. Some of the Parhaiya who got the scheme are also getting impatient as the construction of houses is not started yet and in some other villages construction work is half done.

Earlier studies by Hari Mohan (1975) and Prasad (1971) have shown that Government has also introduced a few development programs among the Parhaiyas in the past. Hari Mohan mentioned that rehabilitation colonies were developed in Chandwa and Balumath blocks of Palamau district by the Government during 1956-60 for Parhaiyas. A total of 16 families were settled in these colonies and they were also allocated 5 acres of land. But in reality each family got only 2-3 acres of land without any patta (land deed). In due course of time they lost interest in agriculture due to lack of facilities as these are rain fed land or their land was also grabbed by their neighbouring caste groups. Hari Mohan further said that the Parhaiyas were not able to cultivate the lands due to: 1. the land given to them was still claimed by other influential people of the area, 2. poor Parhaiyas do not have money to make the land worth cultivating, and 3. the land settled with them was of poor quality. Now they have become agricultural labourers. Their old homes of the colonies are also collapsed and abandoned due to lack of repairing. Initially they waited for the Government to provide help and later on they left these houses and settled to other houses in the same village or migrated to some other villages.

Later Das Sharma (1996) has revisited Parhaiyas and found that Parhaiyas rehabilitated by the Government in different colonies and preferred to stay in their traditional villages. Also no one was found owning land given by the Government. The evidence of older houses was also found during the field work for the present study. But now the attitude towards these programs has changed and most of them want to avail the Government programs and schemes. Beside this, they were also given bullocks, cows, poultry and pigs. These animals are either not survived or sold by Parhaiyas for short term gains.

Conclusions

It is evident from the above discussions that the Government has introduced several development programs and schemes in the area. However the utilization of the schemes by Parhaiyas is less due to obvious reasons mentioned in above sections. The change in attitude of Parhaiyas towards the development programs and schemes are also clearly seen during the study. Now they are very much interested in availing the development programs and schemes and most of them have also availed a few Govt. programs but all of them have not been able to avail all these programs and schemes. They have many expectations from the Government and want some social security. However less utilization of the development schemes by Parhaiyas and their poor participation in the development process is a matter of great concern. This may be addressed immediately by bridging the gaps at the implementation level. Regular monitoring and periodic evaluation of these development programs from the Parhaiya's perspective may be undertaken. This will also increase the interaction between Parhaiyas and village and block level officials and local representatives. Consequently this process will also ensure better participation of Parhaiyas in the development process and better utilization of development programs and schemes.

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